

## Message Text

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65AFTED BY ARA:WDROGERS:CJS

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TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 049316 TOSEC 060019

EXDIS, FOR COVEY FROM ASSISTANT SECRETARY ROGERS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS:PFOR, XM

SUBJECT:DRAFT STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY TO THE HOUSE  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE

1. HERE IS A PRELIMINARY DRAFT OF THE LATIN AMERICAN  
PORTION OF THE SECRETARY'S STATEMENT TO THE HIRC. CHARLIE  
HILL HAS NOT PUT HIS PENCIL TO IT, AND I ONLY IN A LIMITED  
WAY. WE WILL BE CABLING TO YOU THE OTHER PORTIONS OF YOUR  
TESTIMONY -- SALT, MOSCOW TRIP, TURKEY AND CYPRUS AND  
SECURITY ASSISTANCE -- LATE SUNDAY AFTERNOON:

2. BEGIN TEXT: MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN: I HAD HOPED  
TO MAKE MY TRIP TO LATIN AMERICA EARLIER. IT WAS INDEED  
IN AN ADVANCED PLANNING STAGE ON THREE PREVIOUS OCCASIONS.  
AT EACH TIME, HOWEVER, WHAT WAS URGENT AND IMPORTANT HAD  
TO TAKE PRECEDENCE OVER WHAT WAS MERELY IMPORTANT. BUT  
THE FACT THAT THE TRIP WAS MADE AND OUR ACTIVE INTEREST  
DEMONSTRATED IN LATIN AMERICA IS FAR MORE IMPORTANT THAN  
THE TIMING.

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3. THE TIMING WAS AUSPICIOUS IN SOME RESPECTS. I THINK

THE GENERAL STATE OF OUR RELATIONS WITH LATIN AMERICA IS  
BETTER NOW THAN IT HAS BEEN FOR SEVERAL YEARS. THERE

WILL BE FOR SOME TIME A TENDENCY ON THE PART OF MANY COUNTRIES TO BLAME THE UNITED STATES FOR SINS MORE JUSTLY ATTRIBUTABLE CLOSER TO HOME. LATIN AMERICA IS NO EXCEPTION, BUT I THINK THAT TENDENCY IS ON THE WANE. THE SENSE OF NATIONAL PRIDE WE FIND IN THIS HEMISPHERE HAS GIVEN BIRTH TO A MORE MATURE SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY BY NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS FOR NATIONAL WELFARE. I FOUND FAR MORE INCLINATION TO TACKLE PROBLEMS THAN TO LOOK FOR SCAPEGOATS. IN FACT, SOME LATIN AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS MAY NOW BE LESS CONCERNED ABOUT AMERICAN POWER THAN THE LACK OF IT. THERE ARE INDEED UNDERCURRENTS OF HOPE THAT THE U.S. WILL RE-ASSERT ITSELF -- IN GOOD CAUSES OF COURSE.

5. AT THE SAME TIME WE HAVE MADE PROGRESS ON SPECIFIC PROBLEMS WHICH HAD BEEN THREATENING U.S.-LATIN RELATIONS. FOR EXAMPLE, I BELIEVE WE HAVE DOMONSTRATED OUR GOOD FAITH IN THE PANAMA CANAL TREATY NEGOTIATIONS AND HAVE CONVINCED THE LATIN AMERICANS, WHO REALLY ARE QUITE UNITED ON THIS ISSUE, THAT WE ARE HONESTLY SEEKING A FAIR TREATY WHICH PROTECTS THE INTERESTS OF BOTH SIDES.

6. BUT AS THE GENERAL TONE OF OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES HAS IMPROVED, THEIR OWN EXTERNAL RELATIONS HAVE BECOME MORE DIVERSIFIED. THEY WANT TO MOVE AWAY FROM DEPENDENCY ON US. BUT THEY WANT US TO UNDERSTAND THEIR PROBLEMS, TO ASSIST THEIR LEGITIMATE ASPIRATIONS AND TO CONTINUE TO UNDERWRITE THEIR BASIC SECURITY. IT WAS TIMELY TO REASSURE THEM ON THESE ISSUES NOW.

7. APART FROM SUCH REASSURANCE, THE OBJECTIVE OF MY TRIP WAS TO PERSUADE MY HOSTS THAT THEY SHOULD EXERCISE THEIR OWN INCREASING INFLUENCE ON BEHALF OF CONSTRUCTIVE SOLUTIONS TO PROBLEMS WHICH CONFRONT US MUTUALLY. I WANTED TO GET ACROSS THE NOTION THAT THEIR INCREASING CONFIDENTIAL

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MATURITY AND INFLUENCE ON THE WORLD SCENE SHOULD BE ACCCOMPANIED BY A SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR HOW THAT SCENE DEVELOPS. THIS IS A RESPONSIBILITY THEY CAN SHARE WITH US, BUT ONLY IF THEY REALIZE THAT THE UNITED STATES IS NOT PART OF THE PROBLEM BUT A KEY ELEMENT IN THE SOLUTION. HENCE, I SAW THE TRIP AS AN OPPORTUNITY TO CONVINCE THE LATIN AMERICANS THAT WE ARE NOT INDIFFERENT TO THEIR FATE AND INDEED THAT THEIRS AND OURS ARE INCREASINGLY COMINGLED. I ALSO WANTED TO REASSURE THEM THAT THEIR INCREASING EMERGENCE ON THE WORLD STAGE NEITHER CONFOUNDS NOR ALARMS US.

8. SO MUCH FOR OBJECTIVES. HAVING SOUGHT THESE ON THE GROUND, WHAT ARE MY IMPRESSIONS?

9. THERE IS A MOVEMENT TOWARD REGIONAL SOLIDARITY, WITNESS THE FORMATION OF THE NEW LATIN AMERICAN ECONOMIC SYSTEM IN WHICH VENEZUELA PLAYED A KEY ROLE. THIS IS NOT INTROSPECTIVE, HOWEVER. IT COINCIDES WITH, AND IS TO SOME EXTENT CONDITIONED BY, LATIN AMERICA'S INCREASED AND ACTIVE INTEREST IN THE WORLD OUTSIDE THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE. BUT THIS INTEREST ITSELF COEXISTS WITH THE VIEW THAT THE UNITED STATES REMAINS THE SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT INFLUENCE IN LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES, WHETHER ONE IS TALKING ABOUT TRADE, TOURISM, INVESTMENT, OR SECURITY.

10. MY TRIP CONVINCED ME THAT THERE IS AN AFFINITY BETWEEN US AND THE LATIN AMERICANS WHICH TRANSCENDS NATIONAL BOUNDARIES, AN HISTORICAL COMMONALITY. WE DO NOT DEAL WITH EACH OTHER AS ADVERSARIES. THERE IS A TACIT ASSUMPTION THAT IT IS IMPORTANT TO AGREE WHENEVER WE POSSIBLY CAN, NOT JUST BECAUSE MORE PROBLEMS GET SOLVED THAT WAY BUT BECAUSE OUR SOLIDARITY IS ENHANCED. I FIND IN THIS COMMONALITY THE BEST HOPE THAT WE, AS A DEVELOPED COUNTRY, CAN WORK OUT SOLUTIONS TO THE POLITICAL PROBLEMS INHERENT IN THE UNEVEN DISTRIBUTION OF THE WORLD'S WEALTH. IT IS JUST POSSIBLE THAT WE CAN UTILIZE OUR TRADITION OF CONSULTATION WITH LATIN AMERICA, AND OUR WILLINGNESS TO REMAIN CENTRALLY INVOLVED IN THE AFFAIRS OF THIS HEMISPHERE TO DEVELOP  
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REGIONAL SOLUTIONS TO THE GRAVE NEW ISSUES OF RESOURCE SCARCITY, HUNGER, THE DISLOCATION OF ENERGY SUPPLY AND UNDER-DEVELOPMENT WHICH MIGHT BE EMULATED ELSEWHERE.

11.--IN VENEZUELA I SAW A COUNTRY, NOT CONTENT WITH ITS OWN BURGEONING AFFLUENCE, BUT DETERMINED TO PROMOTE THE COMMON DESTINY OF LATIN AMERICA. I MADE CLEAR THAT WE WELCOMED THIS TREND, WERE HOPEFUL THAT IT WOULD SERVE A PURPOSE OTHER THAN CONFRONTATION WITH THE U.S. AND WERE PREPARED TO COOPERATE WITH ANY REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS THAT EMERGED. AS A CARIBBEAN LITTORAL STATE, I ALSO FOUND SERIOUS CONCERN IN VENEZUELA ABOUT CUBAN MILITARY ADVENTURISM. I ALSO FOUND THE VENEZUELANS CONCERNED ABOUT THEIR EXCLUSION FROM GENERAL TARIFF PREFERENCES UNDER OUR 1974 TRADE ACT. THEY CANNOT UNDERSTAND WHY THEY SHOULD BE DISCRIMINATED AGAINST WHEN THEY DID NOT EMBARGO THEIR OIL SHIPMENTS TO US IN 1974.

12. -- BRAZIL IS TRULY AN EMERGING POWER WITH BROADENED INTERNATIONAL INTERESTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES. THE

MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT ON CONSULTATION WHICH I SIGNED WITH THE BRAZILIAN FOREIGN MINISTER IS SIMPLY A

RECOGNITION OF THAT PLAIN FACT.

13. -- THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND BRAZIL IS GROWING MORE IMPORTANT AND MORE COMPLEX ALL THE TIME, PARTICULARLY WITH RESPECT TO TRADE. WE MUST GET AN EFFECTIVE INSTITUTIONAL HANDLE ON THE PROCESS, AS WE HAVE WITH CANADA, WESTERN EUROPE AND JAPAN. OUR AGREEMENT RELECTS REALITY. IT DOES NOT CONSTITUTE AN INCIPENT BILATERAL AXIS NOR IMPLY APPROVAL OF BRAZIL'S INTERNAL POLICIES OR PRACTICES OR REPRESENT AN ATTEMPT TO DOMINATE LATIN AMERICA BY PROXY. THE LATINS WOULDN'T PUT UP WITH IT AND THE BRAZILIANS WOULD NEVER LEND THEMSELVES TO SUCH A SCHEME

14. -- THE PERUVIAN EXPERIMENT REPRESENTS A DIFFERENT APPROACH BUT ONE WITH WHICH WE CAN ALSO COOPERATE. I BELIEVE I WAS ABLE TO REASSURE THE PERUVIANS THAT WE EMBRACE THE SOCIALLY CONSCIOUS OBJECTIVES OF THEIR  
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REVOLUTIONARY ECONOMIC PROGRAM AND WISH THEM SUCCESS AS A NATION. OUR POLICY, I SAID, IS TO RESPECT THE SOVEREIGNTY OF EACH LATIN AMERICAN STATE AND TO CONCILIATE DIFFERENCES BEFORE THEY BECOME CONFLICTS.

15. -- IN COLOMBIA I SAW AT FIRST HAND ANOTHER OF THE HEMISPHERE'S PRACTICING DEMOCRACIES. TRADE AND PARTICULARLY IMPROVED ACCESS TO THE U.S. MARKET IS VITAL TO THE SUCCESS OF THAT DEMOCRACY AND THE COLOMBIAN FOREIGN MINISTER PUT TO ME AN IMAGINATIVE PROGRAM FOR EXPANDING HEMISPHERIC TRADE.

16. -- FINALLY IN COSTA RICA, I SAW ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF DEMOCRACY AT WORK AND REAFFIRMED, ONCE AGAIN, THE IMPORTANCE OF OUR INTER-AMERICAN COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE DIGNITY OF MAN. AT THAT TIME I SAID THAT BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS MUST BE PRESERVED, CHERISHED AND DEFENDED IF PEACE AND PROSPERITY ARE TO BE MORE THAN HOLLOW ACHIEVEMENTS. I ALSO OBSERVED THAT THE PROBLEMS WE CONFRONT REQUIRE, MORE THAN EVER, THE FULL AND FREE DEDICATION OF THE TALENT, ENERGY, CREATIVE THOUGHT AND ACTION OF MEN AND WOMEN, FREE FROM FEAR AND REPRESSION.

17. -- IN GUATEMALA I HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO SEE AT FIRST HAND THE TRAGIC EFFECTS OF THE DEVASTATING EARTH-QUAKE OF FEBRUARY 4 -- AND SOMETHING OF THE EFFORTS OF OUR COUNTRY TO HELP. I PLEDGED TO GUATEMALA OUR SUPPORT FOR THEIR HEROIC EFFORTS TO REBUILD NOT ONLY IN THE MOMENT OF TRAGEDY BUT FOR THE LONG TERM AS WELL.

18. THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH IS AT THIS VERY MOMENT DEVELOPING A SPECIFIC SET OF CONCRETE MEASURES TO TURN

THE IDEAS WHICH WERE DISCUSSED THROUGHOUT THE TRIP INTO ACTION. WE WILL BE CONSULTING WITH THE CONGRESS ABOUT THESE ACTION PROGRAMS IN THE WEEKS AHEAD.

19. I UNDERSTAND THAT MR. PARKER AND OTHER AID OFFICIALS WILL BE TESTIFYING SHORTLY ABOUT THE FURTHER NEEDS OF THE PEOPLE OF GUATEMALA.

20. IN SUM, MR. CHAIRMAN, THIS TRIP STRENGTHENED MY  
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DEEP CONVICTION THAT OUR GEOGRAPHIC AND HISTORIC BONDS ARE MORE THAN RHETORICAL. IF WE TAKE SERIOUSLY THE VOCATION OF THIS COUNTRY AND ITS LEADERSHIP TO PROMOTE THE ACHIEVEMENT OF A NEW AND MORE HARMONIOUS WORLD EMISPHERE. END TEXT.

21. NOTE TO THE SECRETARY FROM ROGERS:

(A) WE MIGHT ALSO CONSIDER ADDING:

-- THE "SIX PRINCIPLES" OF OUR LATIN AMERICAN POLICY FROM YOUR CARACAS SPEECH.

-- EFFORTS TO MAKE THE OAS A MORE EFFECTIVE INSTRUMENT.

-- DISCUSSION OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY AND THE RIO TREATY UNDER COSTA RICA.

-- MENTION OF DRUGS UNDER COLOMBIA.

(B) WE MAY ALSO WANT TO DEVELOP THE THEME THAT WE WILL NOT ONLY BE CONSULTING WITH CONGRESS BUT CONGRESS WILL HAVE AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN THE FOLLOW-THROUGH. INGERSOLL

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